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Editorial

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE ASSOCIATION

Professor Walter Dennison, first vice-president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, has compiled some interesting statistics bearing on the membership of the Association. By comparing the number of members in each state with the number of Latin pupils in the public high schools of that state, as given in the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education* (Vol. II, p. 825), he has been able to determine much more precisely than has ever been done before the standing of the Association in the various states. The lists previously published in the *Journal* have shown only the number of members, without any indication of the proportion in which that number stood to the number of persons eligible for membership.

The test, as Professor Dennison himself points out, is not absolutely correct. A more satisfactory test would have been a comparison of the number of members with the number of Latin teachers, but an authoritative list of the Latin teachers of the country is not available, this being in large measure due to the fact that there are many teachers of whose work the teaching of Latin is only a part. Another thing which ought to be taken into consideration and which in all probability partially accounts for the proportionately low enrolment in some states is the varying proportion of teachers to students in the different states. However, even with these modifications, we believe that the statistics will be useful, especially in showing the vice-presidents and the committees on membership where they stand and what the possibilities of their respective states are.

Professor Dennison takes the membership of Illinois as a basis, selecting that state because numerically it has the largest enrolment. According to the secretary's report of October 29, 1907, the num-

ber of members of the Association in Illinois is 229. Now the number of Latin pupils in the public high schools of Illinois is 22,793, so that the state has approximately 1 member in the Association to every 100 Latin pupils. On this basis the following table is prepared, showing in the first column what the present enrolment in each state is, and in the second column what it would be if the proportion found in Illinois of 1 member to every 100 pupils were reached:

	Present Enrolment	Enrolment on Basis of 1 Member to Every 100 Pupils
Alabama.....	13	28
Arkansas.....	6	21
Colorado.....	37	47
North Dakota.....	7	12
South Dakota.....	14	22
Illinois.....	229	229
Indiana.....	97	223
Iowa.....	121	157
Kansas.....	43	122
Kentucky.....	22	39
Louisiana.....	10	16
Michigan.....	151	105
Minnesota.....	68	102
Mississippi.....	20	30
Missouri.....	111	149
Nebraska.....	46	102
Ohio.....	116	320
Oklahoma.....	10	13
Tennessee.....	29	31
Texas.....	38	117
West Virginia.....	9	14
Wisconsin.....	89	50
Total.....	1,286	1,949

On this system of computation Wisconsin leads the Association, with 1 member to every 57 pupils; Michigan is next, with 1 member to every 69 pupils. Ohio is far down in the list, for although there are 32,057 Latin pupils in the state, there are only 116 members, i. e., 1 member for every 276 pupils. The enrolment in Arkansas, Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, and Texas is also small.

CO-OPERATION AMONG CLASSICAL TEACHERS

It has been suggested recently by several readers of the *Journal* that something should be done to establish a means of communication between teachers who are trying in a practical way to bring ancient

life nearer to their pupils. A number of these experiments—clubs, plays, banquets, the Roman state at the East High School, Rochester, N. Y.—have been noticed in these pages from time to time, and the *Journal* takes pleasure in drawing attention to a suggestion made by Mr. Mason D. Gray, of the high school just mentioned. Mr. Gray thinks that much time and labor would have been saved by his colleagues and himself if they could have benefited more by the practical experience of others. The information found in books about the conduct of Roman elections, the procedure at trials, the drapery of the toga, the manufacture of scrolls, etc., is not very helpful, because it is not written with a view to practical realization. He thinks that in these matters and others, such as the simplification of plays for high-school acting, a loose organization of interested teachers, who would furnish each other with full accounts of what they are doing along these lines, would be of benefit.

We are in sympathy with all efforts of this kind, and shall be glad to help, so far as we can, any movement looking toward a closer co-operation among classical teachers in this direction. Much can be done through the columns of the *Journal*, and we suggest that contributors in preparing their accounts of clubs, political organizations, plays, and other entertainments, for publication in the *Journal* bear in mind the probability that many readers may be planning or engaged in a similar undertaking. The article, therefore, should be as concrete as possible, telling just what the practical difficulties of the enterprise were and in what way they were overcome.

THE SALARIES OF TEACHERS

At the last meeting of the Association in Chicago, a committee was appointed to investigate the question of the salaries of classical teachers in the territory. The results of the investigation will be of interest to teachers of all subjects, for there is no reason to suppose that classical instructors are rated lower than others. That all classes of teachers from the grade school to the university are compelled to carry on their work under the most discouraging financial conditions is a fact well known to all members of the profession, and the sooner the dismal details of the situation are widely circulated among the public at large, the nearer the possibility of redress. The

average teacher's salary is not only an inadequate recompense for the work he does, but its smallness prevents his doing the best work of which he is capable. Hundreds of ambitious teachers who realize the advantages of a year or two of graduate study in some university are obliged by lack of funds to abandon all thought of it. Moreover, many are compelled to devote to outside work the spare hours which they would gladly give to the pursuit of their own studies. Ranking socially and intellectually with the professions of law and medicine, in remuneration the profession of teaching is placed far below them. More than that, the salaries paid to large numbers of teachers are less than half of what many artisans receive. A table published in a recent number of a New York paper throws some light on the question:

TEACHERS AND WAGE-EARNERS

THE PAY OF TEACHERS

In some cases these figures are the minimum rates in the localities named; in other cases they are the average rate. The yearly rate is, in every case, the entire sum that a teacher can earn in a year; there is no such thing as overtime for them, and they are employed only from seven to ten months a year. In this respect they can be compared with some outdoor artisans who cannot work the year around. As to places outside of New York, some allowance must be made for differences in the cost of living.

	Month	Year
Bucks Co., Pa.....	\$35.00	\$ 245.00
Hazleton, Pa.....	35.00	350.00
Chester, Pa.....	40.00	380.00
Georgetown, Del.....	35.00	315.00
All Idaho (male av.).....	71.03	710.30
All Idaho (female av.).....	55.90	559.00
New York City (min., female)	60.00	600.00
New York City (min., male)...	90.00	900.00
Elmira, N. Y. (male average)		503.00
Elmira, N. Y. (female average)		423.00
Columbia Coll., N. Y.		
111 professors (av.).....		3746.85
39 adj. professors (av.).....		2126.92

UNION RATES OF WAGES IN NEW YORK

These figures are official. In every case the figures are the minimum, the least amount which the union will allow a member to accept. As a matter of fact, many workmen make more than the figures given, for "overtime" (any time over eight hours a day) is paid extra at the rate of one-half more than the regular rate; and work done on Sundays and holidays is paid for at double rates. The yearly rate is based on three hundred working days of eight hours each.

	Day	Year
Bricklayer.....	\$5.60	\$1680.00
Mason.....	4.40	1320.00
Carpenter.....	4.80	1440.00
Plasterer.....	5.30	1590.00
Hod-carrier.....	3.00	900.00
Tile-layer.....	5.00	1500.00
Cabinet-maker.....	4.00	1200.00
Steam-fitter.....	5.00	1500.00
Stationary engineer.....	5.00	1500.00
Electrical worker.....	4.50	1350.00
Printer (per week).....	21.00	1092.00
Linotype-operator (per week)	23.00	1196.00
Tile-layer's helper.....	3.00	900.00
Electrical engineer.....	5.00	1500.00
Hoisting engineer.....	5.00	1500.00
Rigger engineer.....	4.00	1200.00

HORACE, AN APPRECIATION¹

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"To mold the faltering speech of childhood, to fashion the heart of youth by gentle precepts, to be a corrector of harshness, malice, and anger, to portray virtuous actions, and by familiar examples train the rising generation, and finally to sustain the weak and console the discouraged," is the mission of the poet to society as set down by Horace in his latest published work.

While this cannot be regarded as his whole literary creed, for Horace is here emphasizing one point of view in a special plea to the emperor asking his considerate indulgence and active interest in the literature of the day, it is none the less a singularly significant passage, revealing, as it does, Horace's underlying conception of the functions of literature. To him the didactic and ethical make the strongest plea, and while he recognizes that the giving of pleasure is a legitimate end of the literary art, and nurses a slight hope that a faint breath of the Grecian Muse has been vouchsafed to him in gracious moments, it is, after all, in the pursuit of the *quid verum atque decens*, that he finds his greatest pleasure if not his truest expression. For this he reads Homer, because Homer better than professional philosophers teaches the *quid pulchrum*, the *quid turpe*, the *quid utile*.

There is no mistaking this dominant note in the character of the poet. It is constantly appearing in his lighter odes as well as in his more serious essays. And it is this ethical quality of his genius, in spite of his Grecian facility and lightness of touch—the *curiosa felicitas* which so impressed his Roman readers—that reveals in Horace the essential Roman.

Each nation has its own point of view from which it looks at the world and its own peculiar weapons with which it attacks the problems

¹ President's address, read at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Chicago, March 29, 1907.

of life. When we think of the Roman it is the practical man who stands before us, the man who does, and we expect to see him subordinate all other considerations to the one end of accomplishment. Whatever powers he may possess all are made to bend to this inborn tendency. If he has a sense of beauty it is not as with the Greek an end in itself, but a means to an end. The Romans were not devoid of imagination, constructive poetical imagination, too, or they never could have had a Lucretius or a Vergil, but it found expression in action rather than in words. When the Roman "yearned beyond the skyline" it was not to satisfy an intellectual or spiritual curiosity, but to satisfy the practical desire for conquest.

And so with other qualities of his genius. In philosophy the Roman does not set about constructing systems of speculative thought, but formulates a set of rules for the conduct of life, or lets this natural tendency of his toward concrete ethics find expression in his literature. Livy recommends the reading of history because in its pages may be found models for right conduct and contrary examples which may serve as a warning and save from depravity. And Tacitus considers it the chief purpose of the historian to rescue virtue from oblivion. With this essentially Roman point of view Horace would have been in the fullest sympathy.

It is the increasing recognition of the principle that the value of a national literature lies in the success with which it voices the national spirit that accounts for the new place of honor it has of late years become the fashion to grant Latin literature. This recognition though tardy is well deserved, for the "lords of the earth," whose destiny it was, says Vergil, "to rule the world, to impose peace, to protect the weak, and beat down the proud," have left a literature saturated with their dominating characteristics. Into such a heritage Horace was born, to the most dignified language ever spoken by man, to a national literature imbued with eloquent patriotism, to a philosophy ethical in character, and he takes his place in the direct line of national tradition.

Their satire the Romans claim as an original contribution to the history of letters and formal satire is indeed a constant element in their literature from Ennius to Juvenal, while the spirit of satire is found in all their compositions from the *De rerum natura* of Lucretius to the *Annals* of Tacitus. Horace was therefore only taking up with

the national habit when he began to write. He makes his dramatic, conversational satire the vehicle of literary criticism, of reflections on life, and of comments on passing events, and with ridicule as an instrument, makes it a means of moral reform.

It is owing partly to his training and residence at Athens and partly to a certain Greek element in his disposition, that Horace all his life courted the lyric muse of the Greeks and met with pronounced success, a success which, however, did not entirely satisfy him, for late in life he returns to the more didactic form of composition with evident satisfaction. Abandoning the dramatic and conversational element of his earlier essays, he surrenders himself to subjects of personal interest, friendship, philosophy, and informal literary criticism. Of this latter sort are the charming letter to Tibullus, the discreet communication to Tiberius, and others which make constant reference to his delight in the country, his professed preference for philosophical studies, and the exposition of his philosophical creed, furnishing as they do a picture of the poet friendly, kindly, ironically self-critical, and a trifle worldly wise.

We are all familiar with the literary forces at work in Horace's day, and for that reason the attitude he assumes toward his contemporaries possesses unusual interest. Of his earlier contemporaries he does not mention Cicero, whom he must have seen about the streets of Rome and probably heard in the Senate House. There could have been, however, little in common between men of tastes and habits of life so diverse. Catullus is mentioned once, and that in a slighting reference to him as the author of the favorite songs of the popular singer of the day. Horace rather ungenerously ignores Catullus' contribution to lyric poetry and his skill in the use of Greek meters.

Lucretius, who died when Horace was ten years old, he could not have known, but there are evidences of the influence of the older poet upon him, and there is perhaps one reference to the *De rerum natura* in an ode where he confesses to a lapse of faith in the gods due to the teachings of natural science, a playful reference to sacred things which Lucretius could not have appreciated and which shows how far away Horace was from that serious belief in the gods which caused Lucretius so much anxiety of mind and such severe labor in his effort to free men's minds from superstition. The stern attitude of the great

rationalist was utterly foreign to Horace. Both poets were professed followers of Epicurus—Lucretius all the time, and Horace occasionally—and Epicurus' quietistic philosophy and general scheme of life on the whole seem better suited to this urbane man of the world than to Lucretius who preaches his gospel of the blessedness of death with all the enthusiasm of the Hebrew prophet.

Of the men more nearly his contemporaries, Horace lived on terms of the most sincere and sympathetic friendship with Vergil, to whom he owed his introduction to Maecenas, and his entrée to the literary circle of which theirs became the greatest names. Vergil is the *optimus Vergilius*, the soul than whom earth never bore a whiter. He is the *animae dimidium meae*, whom the land-loving Horace unwillingly intrusts to a ship whose builder must, he says, have borne about a heart encased in triple brass. The shy reserved Vergil, shrinking from all publicity, no doubt found great pleasure in the social friendliness of his rather communicative brother poet. And to him Horace must have revealed the more serious and earnest side of his character. An idealist of the fine quality of Vergil could not have made an intimate friend of any man who was not inspired in some measure by a similar faith. Horace's best odes show this kinship with Vergil's genius, particularly the patriotic and political odes, though he was not sustained by the constant faith nor inspired by the elevated patriotism of the author of the *Aeneid*. The pure idealism of Vergil and the sweeping rationalism of Lucretius are in strong opposition, while the restrained realism of Horace leads him safely along that middle road whose virtues he is so fond of praising.

Of other contemporaries, Propertius was, according to tradition, a *persona non grata* to Horace, and Ovid, who gives Horace the title of *numerosus*, he does not mention. In Tibullus, Horace found a companion spirit, congenial because of their common love of poetry and nature, and from a certain melancholy arising from delicate health. Other men of his day in the field of letters and politics are familiarly addressed in his various odes and epistles, and it is clear that this man, by force of his personality and his poetic gift, came to enjoy the friendship of the best men in Rome.

Horace's poetical worth is briefly summarized by an admiring Roman critic, Quintilian, who says that he is *plenus iucunditatis et*

gratiae, full of charm and grace, and is very happy and daring, *jelicissime audax*, in his use of language. The rank of *vates sacer* would hardly be claimed for him by his most enthusiastic admirer. No one recognizes better than he does himself his limitations as a poet. He repeatedly disclaims possession of the highest inspiration and insists that his is not the voice to sing the high praise of invincible Caesar in epic and dramatic verse, nor is he a second Pindar, that Dircean swan accustomed to mount to the clouded height of heaven, but he laboriously gathers inspiration for his humble verse as the Matine bee sips honey from the sweet thyme. Neither in inspiration nor in utterance would he place himself in rivalry with the great poets of the world.

In one of his earlier essays, he mentions as necessary to a poet, *ingenium*, *mens divini*, and *os magna sonaturum*—genius, inspiration, and elevated language—without which all composition is mere prose. No higher title than this does he claim for his *Satires* and *Epistles* which but for the accident that they are written in hexameter verse are to all intents and purposes plain prose. A re-arrangement of words would not affect his lines materially, he says, and would not reveal, as in the epic of Ennius, the *disiecti membra poetae*.

But it would be a mistake to estimate his lyric verse by the standard he sets for the *Satires* and *Epistles*. In his *Odes* he rises occasionally to the *os magna sonaturum* of elevated poetry, but it is above all his felicity, his happy success in finding the fitting phrase, that astonishes his reader and defeats his imitator or translator. This it is that makes him so eminently quotable, and if culture, as it has been whimsically defined, consisted in the ability to recognize allusions, a knowledge of Horace would be indispensable to every seeker after that much maligned and most elusive by-product of education.

The inevitable phrase, the happy epithet, the packed sentence, constitute a large part of Horace's gift, and bear witness to unquestioned genius if not to inspiration. Examples in great number will occur to any reader of Horace:

Sed levius fit patientia, quicquid corrigere est nefas
Endurance lightens what 'tis wrong to change;

or

Nihil est ab omni parte beatum
No man is altogether happy;

or

Caelum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt
They change their climate but not their temper who cross the sea;

or

Oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque iocosi
The long-faced hate the lively man, the jokers hate the long-faced
man (Gildersleeve).

The form of his lyric verse was of course imitative, and it would be difficult to overestimate his debt to the Greek poets in the matter of meters. He is proud of the debt and considers it high enough praise to have been the first to set Latin words to the lyric measures of Greece. In his hands the verse of Archilochus and Anacreon, of Sappho and Alcaeus, suffers no dishonor. His Sapphics may, perhaps, leave something to be desired when compared with those of the golden Sappho, but in the Alcaic he has achieved a success that would surprise his Greek original. "Not so free and light in movement as the verse of Alcaeus, the Horatian Alcaic is," says Tennyson, "perhaps the stately measure in the world except the Vergilian hexameter at its best."

The Alcaic is the measure Horace selects for his best political odes and for his more serious reflections on life. I need only to speak of the

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,

or

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum,

or

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero,

to recall to your minds poems which richly deserve the praise Tennyson bestows upon them. Both for form and substance, Horace's Alcaics deserve a high place in any collection of the world's best lyrics.

Something higher than the *paupertas* which Horace says impelled him to write is the source of the inspiration of poetry such as this. When full account is taken of the content of the *Odes* and comparison made with the *Letters* and *Satires*, it is easy to see the same mind and purpose in them both. The great difference lies in the perfection of form of the *Odes*, and this perfection of form is due to a distinct and original gift for metrical expression. It is the *numerosus Horatius* of Ovid.

That Horace was conscious of the possession of this gift is evident

from the satisfaction with which he contemplates his own success in the well-known epilogue to the first collection of his lyrics:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius

I have builded me a monument more lasting than brass, which the countless series of years and the flight of time cannot destroy—*non omnis moriar*.

Horace proved himself a master in the composition of lyric verse, and his self-gratulation is well founded. He is the inventor of a style in which he has had no successor in his own or in any other tongue. But it is not wholly upon such achievements that his popularity rests. It depends largely upon the personal element in his writings, the essentially personal quality of his genius, his vivacity, his sense of humor, his kindly interest in life and shrewd observations on men and things, his urbanity—in a word, his humanity.

These qualities are found in all his writings, in the *Odes* no less than in the *Satires* and *Epistles*. Recognition of this fact ought to reconcile the two opposing critics, one insisting that Horace is never Horace in the *Odes*, and the other contending that Horace is Horace only in the *Odes*. It is the same man throughout, with his genial interest in life and shrewd observance of men's conduct, joined to an ironical and even humorous recognition of the facts of existence, the same sanity of judgment and genuine friendliness of spirit. These qualities have won him admirers among modern men as they did among his own contemporaries.

Inconsistent he confesses himself to be (*non eadem est aetas, non mens*—"my mind and mood are not always the same"), changeable too, but he maintains his independence of judgment and action at all times. Not always serious—*dulce est desipere in loco*, "it is a pleasant thing to let yourself go now and then"—not always gay, he preserves a due sense of proportion, and ever remembers the *aurea mediocritas*.

Beginning life as an Epicurean, his views change with the years and he approves more and more of the teachings of the Stoics, though he swears allegiance to no master,

Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri

Nunc agilis fio.

Now as a Stoic he is deeply engrossed in affairs of state and becomes

a fast follower of the true Virtue. And again he stealthily slips back into the precepts of Aristippus,

Nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor.

A similar change in political creed has subjected him to the charge of insincerity in his attitude toward Augustus. The ardent republicanism of his youth is said to have been cooled by the personal friendship and favors of the leaders of the Imperialistic party. Smarting from the defeat at Philippi, Horace wrote the sixteenth *Epode* in which, foretelling the ruin of Rome by civil war and her ultimate conquest by the barbarian, he invites the stronger spirits of his party to go with him into perpetual exile. "Let the weak and those without hope continue to press their ill-starred beds, but you who have courage cast aside womanish grief and set sail beyond the Etrurian shore," and seek the happy isles.

This is a natural attitude for him to take at the time. Gradually his tone softens as time goes on, and twenty years after this outburst, as the recognized poet of Imperialism, he is commissioned to write the *Carmen Saeculare* for the games celebrated by Augustus in recognition of the peace and prosperity that had come to Rome through the new government. Many things had happened to change his mind in these years, and the whole Roman world had come to accept Augustus and his government, as the modern world has since done, as the best possible solution of the difficulties with which Rome had been burdened through a century of civil war and bloodshed.

In his personal relations with Augustus Horace maintained always an attitude of manly independence, and in spite of frequent solicitations from the emperor declined to become a member of the imperial household. He complies with Augustus' request addressed to him personally, only after many and repeated refusals, and when he does comply he writes on the condition of contemporary literature at Rome, and does not seek to flatter the emperor. He praises Augustus for what he has done in bringing peace to Italy and for his effort in the reorganization of society, but he studiously avoids anything like personal friendship with him. His reason was convinced, but his heart was not won. With Maecenas, however, Horace's friendship was on an entirely different basis, that of sympathetic companionship. Horace was a man of too good sense, too sane judgment, not to see

what benefits had come to Rome and the provinces from the government established by Augustus. It might not appeal to his fancy, but it did appeal to his Roman love of law and order.

In an entirely different sphere of life, the charge of insincerity has also been brought against him, and I imagine he would be highly amused to know that the sincerity of his love odes had ever been made a matter of dispute. He manifestly does not intend them to be taken too seriously, and there is in them always an element of banter and gentle raillery, with even an occasional lapse into ungentlemanly sarcasm.

It must be remembered that Horace was forty-two when his first collection of *Odes* was published, and had already passed his tenth lustrum on the appearance of the second collection. Why should we expect in this mature bachelor the burning passion of the youthful Catullus, or the wailing plaint of the somewhat morbid Tibullus? The solitary tear is the only regretful accompaniment of the *parce, precor, precor* of Horace's farewell address to Venus.

Horace is not a lady-like poet. He is always sufficiently virile with even a Whitmanesque flavor at times, but he is absolutely free from the morbid tendencies of modern realistic and symbolistic schools of poetry.

He was after all a man living at a time and place whose conceptions of life are not as ours, and his candor has brought discredit upon him. His dealings with the Lydias and Leuconoes, the Glyceras and Neaeras do not, it must be admitted, show any great regard for the conventions, and apparently reveal a very calloused heart, but unfortunately for those who would make of him little more than an accomplished Boulevardier, the names and numbers of the fair ones mentioned in his songs are his best defense. The Greek names under which the ladies appear so frequently, lend color to the theory that they were at best but unsubstantial fairies, creations of a fancy filled with Greek songs, whose loves are but the loves of some extinct Greek poet, flitting about the parks and squares of the Eternal City in Roman dress.

His drinking songs, too, have been the source of a peculiarly one-sided interpretation of his character, a boisterous conception of him as one wholly given to riotous living, whose chief occupation and delight in life is the composition of the "Massic-laden ditty." Horace's

gaiety and vivacity are contagious, and it is easy to miss the rest. He does, indeed, show great if not undue familiarity with wine of all grades and many names, Greek and Italian, and whether these verses are mere studies or records of actual experiences, they exhibit the connoisseur. While he quotes with approval Ennius' saying that no poems of worth were ever written by drinkers of water, he laughs at the idea that Homer was a wine-bibber, because he happens to talk about wine in the *Iliad*. Horace believed too thoroughly in his own doctrine of moderation in pleasure to become himself a castaway from undue indulgence.

A certain gaiety of manner and vivacity of spirit is characteristic of him and is found not merely in his love odes and drinking songs. He has a strong sense of humor, irresistible because it is sane and healthy, which saves him from dullness, for when he discovers the discussion getting too serious he abruptly ends it by some amusing remark or irrelevant allusion. Moreover, it is a theory of his that (in Milton's English),

Joking decides great things,
Stronglier and better oft than earnest can
and he inquires in one of the earliest of his *Satires*,
What hinders the laughter from being a teacher of the truth?
Quamquam ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat?

The serious-minded reader may deplore the flippancy that occasionally characterizes his smart sayings, and the learned commentator is at times impelled to exclaim with a German editor of Plautus, "Aber, es gibt auch eine logik des witzes."

In spite, however, of his keen sense of the ridiculous, and of his habitual ironical attitude of mind, his sense of humor is so strong, his joy in living is so sincere, that he is saved entirely from cynicism, that last infirmity of the feebly humorous soul. Horace's *Nil admirari*, the phrase that now most happily characterizes the cynic's superior pose, was not originally meant in the sense in which it is now used, but was rather another expression of his favorite doctrine of moderation—"To be surprised at nothing," at no turn fortune, the fickle goddess, might take. It is in brief his

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem non secus in bonis.

What Horace really says is that *Nil admirari* is almost the only thing that can make and keep a man happy,

*Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
Solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum.*

The times were full of familiar examples to point his moral, of the immoderate use of wealth, and ignominious despair and death at its loss. No vice is more frequently attacked in Horace's pages than the vice of avarice, ignoble greed, with the companion pictures of the spendthrift and the miser, equally far removed from the temperance Horace teaches. Avidienus, the miser, pouring rancid oil on his cabbage and Albius who has squandered his patrimony for fancy bronzes are familiar types to the reader of Horace.

The quest of the Golden Fleece for the sake of the gold was as common in Horace's as in our own days, and as heartless, perhaps. The Roman excuses sound very familiar; they were a practical people too:

Nil satis est, quia tanti quantum habeas sis—

Nothing is enough, because a man is respected in proportion to the amount of his possessions,

or

et genus et virtus nisi cum re vilior alga est
Character counts for nothing unless you've got the stuff.

When wealth is gained, what then! Horace pictures the restlessness and strenuous leisure of the rich, but his is not the gloomy picture that Lucretius paints, so familiar to English readers through Matthew Arnold's use of it in *Obermann*, of the disgust and loathing and deep weariness that fell upon the rich Roman world. He sees the rich man restless indeed and vainly seeking after happiness by continually changing his habitation and fleeing over seas in splendid yachts in a vain effort to escape from himself, but with truer insight into human nature than Lucretius, he sees that the poor man is equally restless, and in his own way pursues a happiness that is ever in flight. Of the poor he says, in Pope's paraphrase:

*They change their weekly Barber, weekly News,
Prefer a new Japanner to their shoes,
Discharge their Garrets, move their beds, and run
(They know not whither) in a Chaise and one;
They hire their sculler, and when once aboard,
Grow sick, and damn the climate—like a Lord.*

It is one of Horace's favorite themes that happiness does not consist in the multitude of one's possessions:

Honor and gain do not bring the peaceful mind,

Quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,

but that lies in the path apart from the world, in the way of the quiet life—

An secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.

For Horace that meant the Sabine farm—the *rure beato*—where he spent so many happy days and nights with his favorite books and choice friends and where he says he never borrows trouble for a single doubtful hour, and if Jupiter but give him life and means, however slender, he will furnish his own peace of mind. For fear, however, that he may be thought too contented even here, he confesses that he does not do what he ought to do, and what he ought not to do he does.

Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.

At Rome I long for Tibur, at Tibur I long for Rome, inconstant ever.

Like all Romans Horace was very fond of Rome, but unlike most Romans he was equally fond of the country. It is, however, the country of Italy that he loves, and he frequently draws comparison between foreign places and favorite spots in his own land and always with the advantage in favor of his home country. Lucretilis is dearer to him than the mountains of Arcadia. He has no desire to visit foreign lands, and inquires of a returning friend if Lesbos and Samos and other far-famed places are not of little account as compared with the Campus Martius and Tiber's stream. He declares his willingness to praise Rhodes and fair Mytilene—at Rome.

Horace was born in the country, in the mountains of Apulia, and never lost his love for his native place, nor his respect and admiration for the sturdy qualities of country people, nor ever ceased to honor the unlettered father to whose generous devotion to himself he makes frequent reference.

It is by homely qualities like these, by the common virtues, even the common foibles of a man, that Horace wins his way into the hearts of generation after generation of readers. His range of interests is wide and his accomplishments are many. He is a lover of the country and of the city. He is a good friend to his friends. His philoso-

phy is not too high for actual use, and it brought him contentment and a peaceful mind. As we read his words, we seem to walk with him the streets of the Rome he loved so well, or wander along Digentia's pleasing stream and drink with him from the Bandusian spring.

His thought, never very original or very intense, has long since become absorbed in the common thought of the world, but his happy expression of it can never be neglected or forgotten. Though Pontifex and Vestal mount no more the sacred hill, the words of Horace are read and cherished wherever an interest in humanity rises above the affairs of the day, and wherever men count contentment and a tranquil spirit a greater gain than much riches.

Horace has indeed achieved what Tacitus says should be the object of every man's insatiable ambition—he has left a "happy memory of himself."

MUNICIPAL POLITICS IN POMPEII

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Of the three colleges of officials which most towns in Italy show, Pompeii had only the chief magistrates who presided over the local senate and popular assembly, and the market officials. With the functions of these officers and the method of electing them we have acquired some familiarity from a study of Roman epitaphs, but most of our definite information on these points comes from the model municipal law which Julius Caesar drew up the year before his death and from the charters of the towns of Salpensa and Malaca found near Malaga, Spain, in 1861.¹ But from none of these sources do we get much light upon the methods which candidates for town offices used in securing a nomination and in canvassing for votes, or upon the actual state of municipal politics under the Roman Empire. For information upon these matters we must turn to the political notices found on the walls of Pompeii. Almost fifteen hundred of these have been brought to light in the portion of the city already excavated and have been published in the great collection of Latin inscriptions or in its supplements. These notices and other similar announcements, serious and frivolous, seem to have been as numerous and as offensive to some of the Pompeians as bill-boards in our modern cities are to us, for an indignant citizen has scratched on a wall in one of the streets: "I wonder, O wall, that you have not fallen in ruins from supporting the tiresome productions of so many writers."² It will be remembered

¹ The bronze tablets containing these last two documents were discovered beneath the surface of the ground carefully wrapped and protected by tiles. Their condition suggests a romance connected with their history which it would be interesting to have further light upon. They were evidently hidden to save them, and it looks as if we owed their preservation to an overruling Providence accomplishing its purpose through the dread of some tyrant. Did the people of Salpensa and Malaca hide their charters to save them, as our fathers in Connecticut did, and was Domitian, under whom they were originally granted, or some one of his tools, the Roman Governor Andrus whom the people of these two towns sought to circumvent? It is impossible to answer these questions, but they suggest an interesting episode in the struggle for liberty.

² Admiror, O pariens, te non cecidisse ruinis qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas, 1904. (All the references, unless otherwise indicated, are to Vol. IV of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.)

that the Romans deposited the ashes of their dead by the side of the roads leading from the city, and the tombstones and monuments which were raised over them often furnished too tempting a location for a political poster to be resisted. A monument near Rome bears the inscription: "Bill-poster I beg you to pass this monument by. If any candidate's name shall have been painted upon it may he suffer defeat and may he never win any office."¹

Most of these notices are painted upon the stucco of the house walls, as is well known, in great letters from two to twelve inches tall. Those who wrote them were not members of the local senate, but private citizens of Pompeii. This fact points to the participation of the common people in the choice of their magistrates, a state of things which surprises one at first because at Rome in the reign of Tiberius the election of consuls was transferred from the popular assembly to the senate. Evidently the municipalities were more retentive of republican principles than the capital. This inference is in harmony with provisions of the charter of Malaca, which call for the election of local magistrates in the popular assembly. The participation of all the people in the election had an interesting effect. It made it necessary for candidates, and for the friends of candidates, to use every means possible to win the support of voters. What electoral methods were under the Republic we see clearly enough from Cicero's orations in defense of Murena and Plancius, who were charged with violating the election laws, and from the essay on *Candidacy for the Consulship*. They consisted in organizing large parties to escort the candidate to and from his house, in gaining the support of clubs, organized for charitable and other purposes, in making electoral tours, in giving shows, or in using force or money when circumstances permitted it. The inscriptions from Pompeii introduce us to still another and very interesting method of canvassing for votes—the use of the election poster. This method of promoting the cause of a candidate is not very common with us, and so far as my observation goes, has not come into use in our city elections until recently, but is very generally employed in Europe.

¹ Inscriptor rogo te ut transeas hoc monumentum . . . quous candidati nomen in hoc monumento inscriptum fuerit repulsam ferat neque honorem ullum unquam gerat. Henzen 6977.

The Pompeian posters deal with two stages of the electoral campaign, viz., the nomination for office, and the canvassing for votes. In a typical specimen of the first class "M. Cerrinius Vatia is proposed for the aedileship by Nymphodotus and Caprasia."¹ Another inscription reveals the fact that Vatia has agreed to stand for office. This change in the situation is clear because a certain Verus announces his intention to vote for him, by writing on a house-wall "To Vatia for the aedileship Verus Innoces gives his support,"² and such an announcement would hardly be made until Vatia had signified his willingness to be a candidate. The *professio*, or official registration of a prospective candidate was made in Rome three weeks before the election took place, but the intentions of a candidate were known long in advance of the *professio*, so that this inscription does not necessarily fall within the three weeks preceding the election. The nomination to office came from a man's neighbors sometimes in the form of individual requests that he allow his name to be used, sometimes in their united demand which finds expression in such statements as "His neighbors propose Vatia for the aedileship,"³ or "His neighbors nominate Tiberius Claudius Verus as duovir."⁴

The facit-inscriptions, if we may so indicate those in which the verb used is *facit*, which probably indicate an intention to support a candidate at the polls, come from individual supporters, groups of neighbors, or from organizations. Modern posters are put up by political committees in a systematic way on any available board or wall. The practice was not the same in ancient times. The householder had his recommendation painted on the wall of his own house, just as citizens in our political campaigns display in their windows the likeness of their chosen candidate. This practice of course enables us to make out the political sympathies of the several quarters of Pompeii in a given campaign, just as the photographs in the windows in a particular section of a modern city enable us to determine who the favorite candidate of the quarter is. The recommendations were not necessarily painted by the householder. In fact the actual work was

¹ M. Cerrinium Vatiā aed(ilem) Nymphodotus cum Caprasia rog(ant) IV. 207.

² Vatiā aed(ilem) Verus Innoces facit, 1080.

³ Vatiā aed. vicini, 443.

⁴ Ti. Claudium Verum II vir vicini rogant, 367.

often done by a professional painter. One candidate, indeed, seems to have had his recommendations painted on the walls of his supporters' houses at his own expense, and in one inscription the four painters who did the work for him have immortalized themselves by adding their own names and by indicating that all the posters of the candidate in question are their work: "Messenio nominates M. Cerrinius Vatia as aedile—a man worthy of the commonwealth. Infantio, Florus, Fructus, and Sabinus have painted the announcement, doing the work here and everywhere."¹ In one case even the whitewasher who prepared the rectangular space on the wall as a background for the red letters of the notice has left us his name.²

Most of these inscriptions indicate the decision or proposed action of some person, but in a few cases they are addressed to some prominent citizen and solicit his support for the writer's candidate. So in one case we read an anonymous address to a certain Pansa: "Pansa, vote for Modestus for the aedileship!"³

Near the house of another citizen, Proculus, where he would see it on going out and coming in, is painted the inscription: "Proculus, do your duty by your friend Fronto!"⁴ Since proposing a candidate for office was not an official act we are not surprised to find the names of women in inscriptions of this class: "M. Casellius and L. Albucius are nominated by Statia and Petronia. May such citizens always be found in the colony!"⁵ This is, by the way, one of the few recommendations in which the names of more than one candidate appear. The formal presentation of a ticket for all the offices was unknown. In fact the co-operation of two candidates was regarded with suspicion. Sometimes we can make out who the successful candidates were. In one case, for instance, an enthusiastic supporter of Proculus announces on a wall after an election that "all the Pompeians have voted for Proculus."⁶ There is no indication that the imperial government

¹ M. Cerrinium Vatiā aed. dignum rei (pub.) Messenio rog. Scripsit Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et Sabino. Hic et ubique, 230.

² No. 222.

³ Modestum aed. Pans(a) fac facias, 1071.

⁴ Procule Frontoni tuo officium commoda, 920.

⁵ M. Casellium et L. Albucium Statia et Petronia rog. Tales cives in colonia in perpetuo, 3294.

⁶ Paquium Proculum II vir i. d. d. r. p. universi Pompeiani fecerunt, 1122.

had begun yet to meddle in the municipal elections, although in one instance an effort is made to use the favorable opinion of an imperial commissioner in support of M. Epidius Sabinus who is characterized as "the bulwark of the town, as Suedius Clemens the respected (federal) judge considers him, and worthy of the commonwealth on account of his merits and his uprightness in the opinion of the senate."¹ Suedius Clemens showed what would be regarded today as pernicious activity on the part of a federal office-holder because in three posters his intention to vote for M. Epidius Sabinus is announced.

The most interesting recommendations, however, are those which are made by organizations, of one kind or another. Twenty or more of these groups figure in the posters. Most of them are made up of men engaged in the same occupation. The goldsmiths have their candidate, the dealers in fruit, the bakers, the fish-mongers, the fullers, the dyers, the barbers, the copyists, the porters, and even the priests of Isis. It seems to me hazardous to assume, as is commonly supposed, that these recommendations represent the formal action of the guilds concerned. In many cases, at least, they very likely indicate nothing more than the unchallenged opinion of a group of artisans or dealers. Possibly in some cases an individual has taken the responsibility of speaking for men of his calling. It would seem hardly probable, for instance, that the poster "the farmers nominate M. Casellius Marcellus as aedile"² points to the official support of Marcellus by the farmers. This action on the part of men belonging to the several trades naturally leads us to ask what the issues were. Negatively it may be said that in the posters we find no suggestion of the questions which ordinarily arise in a modern municipal election. No mention is made of clean streets, of paving or public buildings, of police protection, or of the water supply. No promise is made on behalf of a candidate that he will give elaborate games, supervise the markets with care, or let the public contracts honestly, although all these matters came under the control of the local officials, and were topics of very lively interest to the average citizen in the small towns, as one sees clearly from the conversations of the Cumaean freedmen at

¹ *Defensor coloniae ex sententia Suedi Clementis sancti iudicis consensu ordinis ob merita eius et probitatem dignus rei publicae*, 768. Cf. also 791 and 1059.

² *M. Casellium Marcellum aed. agricolae rog.*, 490.

Trimalchio's dinner. What questions, then, were uppermost? Apparently those of local pride, personal popularity, and guild politics. The municipalities were divided on a territorial basis into *curiae*, or tribes, as one sees from the municipal charters, and a strong feeling of solidarity had developed in each one of these wards or districts which led to the united support by the citizens of a ward of one of their own number for political office. To understand this situation it is only necessary to recall the survival of strong sectional feeling found in many Italian towns today. The fierce rivalry of the several wards in Siena, for instance, which finds expression in the annual *Palio* is but one illustration among many of the strength which the sentiment of local patriotism may take under favorable circumstances. Of course candidates who were well known and respected had an advantage over their less fortunate rivals. The esteem, for instance, in which such men as Holconius Priscus were held, whose ancestors had been honored with municipal office for half a century, or the uprightness of such a candidate as Q. Bruttius Balbus, of whom it is said in a poster "he will guard the treasury,"¹ would draw men to their support, as soon as their names were announced among those of the candidates. A reputation for integrity in his business dealings naturally improved the chances of an aspirant for office. A supporter of Julius Polybius recommended him to the favorable consideration of his fellow-citizens, because "he supplied good bread."²

What motives brought the dyers, fullers, and barbers to the support of a candidate must be largely a matter of surmise. It may have been some trade advantage or some promised market concession, or possibly these trade groups in some cases were supporting their patron, or at least a citizen who had served them in the past. In modern times the activity which many keepers of inns and wineshops showed in Pompeii in furthering the interests of certain candidates would raise the suspicion that they hoped to get illicit privileges from them, but that assumption is hardly possible for Pompeii.

Among the group inscriptions two or three are found which deserve passing mention. One reads "I beg you to support A. Vettius Firmus as aedile. He deserves well of the state. I ask for your support.

¹ Hic aerarium conservabit, *Eph. Epigr.* I. no. 163.

² C. Iulium Polybium aed. o. v. f. Panem bonum fert, 429.

Ball-players, support him."¹ Other still more astonishing recommendations are found in the announcements: "All the sleepy men nominate Vatia as aedile," "the petty thieves propose Vatia for the aedileship," and "I ask your support for M. Cerrinius Vatia for the aedileship. All the late drinkers nominate him. Florus and Fructus painted this notice."² We are not surprised at the eagerness which Firmus' friend shows to win the support of the ball-players. They were held in high favor by the people. One of them in his epitaph celebrates his popularity, and records the fact that he had played ball frequently with the emperor.³ As for the "sleepy-heads," the "sneak thieves," and the "heavy drinkers," the support of such people is sought today by some politicians, but they are studiously kept in the background for fear of frightening away serious citizens. Shall we conclude that the Pompeians were less scrupulous or fastidious on this point than we are? The city was a wicked one, and its people were surprisingly frank in recognizing the existence of human vices and weaknesses, and scholars seem to be agreed in regarding these three recommendations as striking illustrations of Pompeian depravity or of Latin frankness in such matters. In this conclusion they find confirmation in the fact that the placard of the "heavy drinkers" was put on the wall by the professional painters Florus and Fructus, who, as we noticed above (p. 61) were working in the interest of Vatia. This hypothesis, however, seems to me to put too great a strain on our credulity. Is it possible that Vatia was the candidate of the underworld, and stood for a "wide open town"? That explanation seems improbable, because some of his supporters whose names appear in other posters were men of standing in the community. Possibly these organizations are social clubs which have taken humorous names, or have good humoredly accepted a soubriquet given them by others, but there would seem to be no parallel to such a name in any of the other hundreds of guild and club inscriptions which have come down to us. It is much more probable that all three of them are the work of

¹ A. Vettium Firmum aed(ilem) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis). Dignum rei publicae. O(ro) v(os) f(aciatis). Pilicrepi facite, 1147.

² Vatiā aed. rogant . . . dormientes universi, 575; Vatiā aed. furunculi rog., 576; M. Cerrinium Vatiā aed. o. v. f. Seribibi universi rogant. Scr(ipsit) Florus cum Fructo, 581.

³ CIL. VI. 9797.

a wag or of a malicious opponent of Vatia who wished to intimate that all the bad elements in the city were rallying to his support. The announcement at the end of the third notice that Vatia's employees, "Florus and Fructus, painted it" would only show a keener sense of humor on the part of the supposed wag, or would be a more convincing proof of the authenticity of the placard in the eyes of the passerby, if it emanates from one of Vatia's enemies. This explanation is supported by the fact that these three recommendations are all found in the same street and, therefore, may well be the work of the same person. A friend suggests that the same humorous or malicious hand was at work in printing the inscription quoted above, "To Vatia for the aedileship Verus Innoces gives his support," and that this supporter of Vatia existed only in the imagination of the composer of the notice. If we accept this conjecture, we may be sure that the quick-witted Pompeian would see the point in the statement that Verus Innoces, or "the truly guileless man," was supporting Vatia in his candidacy for the office of police commissioner, especially when he read on neighboring walls the indorsements which Vatia had received from the three groups mentioned above.

The tendency of the Roman to drop into stereotyped formulae, especially in the inscriptions, is abundantly illustrated in the political notices. One would think from reading them that the Latin language had no phrases of approbation save *dignus rei publicae*, *vir bonus*, and *iuvenis probus*. These three locutions, with scarcely a variant, are reiterated again and again. Recommendations with these conventional formulae scarcely suggest a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm on the part of the writer, but the formulae had the merit, which would recommend them to the practical Roman, of being so well known that they could be abbreviated, to the great saving of time and space. Among these recurring phrases of high esteem now and then a sentiment is expressed which suggests other than patriotic motives on the part of some of the voters. Thus a certain Rufinus is asked to "vote for Popidius Secundus and Secundus will vote for him," and in other inscriptions the friends of candidates are warned to be on their guard. The warning is evidently directed against bribery or other illegal means of securing votes. After all, the first purpose of a political system is to secure good government. In this the Pompeians seem

to have been successful. The condition of the streets, of the public buildings, and of the water works all go to show it. This leads us to another consideration which is not without interest. The charter which Domitian gave to Malaca provided that, if the number of candidates who had registered their names with the magistrate chosen to hold the elections was not large enough to fill the required offices, he should of his own motion make the necessary additions to the list. Thereupon the men whose names had been added, could make further nominations, and the second set of nominees could propose other candidates still. This article points very clearly to a growing disinclination on the part of citizens to accept office, a disinclination which became so great that by the close of the second century municipal officials were picked out by the outgoing magistrates, and the choice thus made was formally ratified, not by the popular assembly, which henceforth has no part in the elections, but by the local senate. The reasons for this disinclination to hold office, and for the loss of popular interest in the elections, are various. First of all, a magistrate was called upon to contribute generously to the games in his year of office, as one can see from the charter of the town of Urso in Spain. Furthermore, the extravagant municipal improvements which many towns introduced in the second century of our era left their finances in a hopeless condition, and the task of a city official in managing them must have been difficult and disagreeable. Finally, the central government through its representatives assumed so many functions which the local government had exercised before that the dignity of a municipal office and the interest of the people in the choice of their magistrates naturally disappeared at the same time. Pompeii shows no sign of this downward movement. The large number of political posters testifies at the same time to lively popular interest in the elections and to a spirited contest between candidates for office. These very posters lent a dignity to the municipal magistracies. They run from the time of Augustus down to 79 A. D., the year of the eruption, and were permanent memorials of the esteem in which certain men had been held by their fellow-citizens. Like the consular lists on the walls of the Regia at Rome they contained a record, which was always before the eyes of the people of Pompeii, of those who had been honored with office and of those whom a large number of citizens would have liked to see so honored.

CAESAR'S STRATEGY IN THE GALLIC WAR

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Before proceeding to a discussion of the characteristic strategy of Caesar, a brief consideration of the Roman army and its opponents in Gaul may not be amiss.

In the Roman legion Caesar had the best fighting machine the genius of man had yet evolved. Scope was given for individual activity; there was a field for intelligence as well as for mere brute force. The legion was to be feared not only for the momentum of its mass, but even more because of the courage and ferocity of the individual soldiers. Many of them were veterans inured to fatigue and scenes of carnage, and it was on these tried men of blood and iron that Caesar always depended in time of danger, despite the presence of light-armed troops and cavalry. Moreover, the Roman was skilled in siege operations and had the assistance of the best "artillery" of the times. One more thing weighed down the scales toward Rome—in a short time Caesar so gained the affection, respect, and confidence of his men that his presence and words of approbation nerved every man to his utmost exertion.

The Gauls had little acquaintance with siege-works save what they learned to their cost in the course of the war. For the most part they were not veterans, but men hastily levied for a specific purpose. The speed with which they mustered great numbers was equaled only by the speed of their dispersal, often rendered imperative through lack of supplies. In one thing they were a match for the Romans—a fiery, impetuous valor that under the spur of excitement hesitated at no danger. But they lacked steadfastness, and in most cases a single crushing defeat was sufficient to end a rebellion or conquer a state.

So on the one hand we have a force under thorough discipline, experienced in all the arts of war, well armed and equipped, halting for the night in fortified camps, supported by a competent commissary department, and acting as one man under the single directive intelli-

gence of Caesar's genius—the genius of a man they came almost to idolize. On the other hand is a force often overwhelmingly superior in numbers, spurred on by rash courage and love of country, but yet undisciplined, inexperienced in Roman warfare, badly organized, ill furnished with supplies, and following now this leader and now that until the encroaching progress of the Romans and the genius of Vercingetorix welded all factions together in a last stand for Gallic freedom.

With these differences in the combatants in mind, let us now take up somewhat cursorily the main events of the war in which Caesar's strategy displayed itself. At the very outset we meet one of the emperor's foremost characteristics—rapidity of movement; for when the news came to Rome that the Helvetians were on the point of emigrating, we are told that Caesar traveled thence to Geneva in eight days—a rate of nearly one hundred miles per day. Accustomed as we are to dining-cars, sleepers, and limited expresses, this does not at first sight strike us as rapid traveling, but anyone who has had the fortune to be bumped about in a mountain stage for fifty miles between sunrise and sunset will concede that it showed no common resolution and endurance on Caesar's part.

Arriving at Geneva, he promptly demolished the bridge over the swift Rhone, with unblushing duplicity induced the Helvetians to wait two weeks for a definite answer to their request for a passage through the province, and meanwhile hurried more soldiers to the front. Feeling secure with these reinforcements and with his defenses on the south bank of the Rhone, showing his hand at last, he flatly refused the petition of the deluded Helvetians. His prompt, resourceful expedients had kept him master of the situation.

Deciding to follow up the enemy, he soon found a chance to strike an unexpected blow by making a rapid night march, attacking, wholly by surprise apparently, that part of the Helvetians still on the east bank of the Saône. But he did not yet dare attack their main force—he was himself still unaccustomed to the command of a large army, neither was he yet sure of the temper of his men. So he followed along in dogged pursuit, biding his time. Then he planned to attack their camp from two directions, and actually had Labienus in the chosen position on the hill (the eminence is too low to be called

a mountain) when the blunder of Considius spoiled the well-planned scheme of battle. Had Caesar had but a single pair of modern binoculars, the outcome might have been quite different. It may not be out of place to say, too, that had Caesar been able to place a squad of men with a couple of Maxim or Gatling guns on the south bank of the Rhone at the Pas de l'Écluse, the Helvetians would never have got out of Helvetia—by that route at least.

In the final battle near Montmort, by stationing his men well up on the slope, the smashing, crushing impact of the phalanx was largely neutralized. At the same time the Romans were fresh, could hurl their pikes downhill with deadly effect, and had the advantage of momentum down the declivity when the moment came to charge. Considering the difference in formation of the two armies, Caesar's promptness in swiftly occupying the most advantageous position possible was equaled only by his ready resource when later attacked in the rear by the Boii and Tulingi.

In the following campaign against Ariovistus, Caesar gained Vesontio by forced marches—speed scored again—and then set out in pursuit of the German. In the movements that followed, Caesar was very nearly outgeneraled by his wily foe, who was aided by the masking foothills of the Vosges Mountains, and he finally regained control of his line of supplies only by the perilous expedient of dividing his force in the face of a strong enemy. How he then concentrated his real fighting force, the legions, and at last compelled the Germans to fight against their religious scruples, every school-boy knows. In this battle, too, Caesar showed his daring by allowing the entire reserve line to go into action; while the order was given by young Crassus, we may feel reasonably sure that he had Caesar's authority for such an unusual procedure, for now the Romans *had* to win or suffer a terrible defeat. Doubtless Caesar felt that only a decisive victory would give his men entire confidence either in him or in themselves, and so was willing to stake all his future success on the outcome of this battle.

In the fight with the Belgians at the Aisne Caesar had little chance to display any strategy except speed (in repulsing the enemy at the ford), for the Belgians were too wise to be enticed into charging through the swamps by the Miette.

His next battle was with the Nervii—foemen worthy of his steel. Their plan of attacking Caesar when he was marching in column, each legion followed by its baggage, was excellent, and only Caesar's forethought in massing six legions in the van on that day saved him from almost certain defeat. As it was, it needed all the magic of Caesar's presence in the thick of the fray, his personal shouts of command, and the orders of his fertile brain, to save a day all but lost. How far ahead Caesar was consciously planning at this time no one may say, but it looks as if he preferred death to defeat; in any case he was quick-witted enough to do instantly the one thing of greatest possible effect.

In the third summer we find him fighting the Veneti, having with his wonted versatility transferred operations from land to water. Although he himself had no active part in the sea-fight, yet his presence on the shore inspired his men to greater efforts. It must be admitted, however, that the event of the battle was in large measure due to the sudden calm. Late in the summer he cut a wide swath through the forest in his pursuit of the Morini and Menapii, but even Caesar could not cope with the heavy autumn rains.

The first important event of the fourth summer was the annihilation of the Usipites and Tencteri. These tribes were taken at an enormous disadvantage by Caesar's detention of their leaders who had come as envoys; and of course such an action was in gross violation of the "international law" he had talked so glibly about in his dealings with the Veneti, but his quickness in seizing the opportunity offered is worthy of note.

His rapid construction of a bridge across the Rhine shows his readiness in utilizing the skill of his corps of engineers, but this first expedition into Germany and his subsequent reconnaissance of Britain give no especial illustration of his strategy.

The next year saw his real movement against Britain. His sudden march against the enemy the very night he landed is but another illustration of the rapidity of movement by which he so often gained important advantages. There is perhaps nothing else in this campaign noticeable from the point of view of this paper.

Later in the summer his march for the relief of Cicero's camp well demonstrates his qualities. Northern Gaul was in a tumult. A

legion and a half had been slaughtered, and Cicero was beset by thousands of the foe. Without a moment's hesitation, with but two legions and some horsemen, Caesar plunged straight into the enemy's midst to save his lieutenant. Receiving word that he was himself to be attacked, he placed his camp where his opponents would have to cross a stream and climb a hill in charging. Deceiving them by the smallness of his camp, he blocked up the gates by a single wall of turf, and ordered his men to show the greatest possible confusion. Then, when the enemy swarmed about the works, overconfident of having at last caught their great adversary, the Romans, overthrowing the sham turf walls, rushed out—and the expected came to pass. Not for the first time had Caesar matched his brain and his thousands against the credulous excitability of their tens of thousands.

With the coming of the summer of 52 B. C. Caesar had need of all the experience gained in six years of fighting, for now he had to meet a formidable coalition, headed by a man little less than his equal—Vercingetorix. The Gauls tried to cut Caesar off from his army, and the whole outbreak was well planned. But Caesar suddenly appeared in the country of the Arverni, having traversed the snowy passes of the Cévennes. Vercingetorix started toward him. This was his opportunity. Leaving Brutus in command, he traveled post-haste to Vienne, gathered here a small cavalry force, and then dashed through the country of the Aedui, pausing neither by day nor by night. Before the Gauls really knew of his whereabouts, he had not only rejoined his army, but concentrated his legions—Thor had grasped his hammer. By wholly unanticipated rapidity of movement he reduced in quick succession Vellaunodunum, Cenabum, and Noviodunum. Avaricum had to be taken by siege, but even this fell by a sudden assault delivered in a tempest.

On his march toward Gergovia, Caesar again had to have recourse to a stratagem to cross the Allier. Arranging four legions in the order of six, he sent these on as usual, concealing the other two in the forest. Later in the day these men rebuilt the destroyed bridge, the rest of the force returned, and the passage was successfully accomplished in the face of the enemy.

At the ensuing siege of Gergovia he gained an important position by a night march. A little later he pursued and caught the deserting

Aeduan horse, covering fifty miles in a little over twenty-four hours. This whole proceeding was a risky move, inasmuch as it left such reduced forces in the trenches; but doubtless Caesar calculated on getting back before the Gauls could take advantage of his absence. Failing to capture the city by assault (if this is the correct term to apply to a rather puzzling movement), he was forced to raise the siege, join Labienus by a forced march, and retreat toward the province. Not satisfied to allow the lion to escape, Vercingetorix tried to bring him to bay by a cavalry attack. Caesar not only repelled the horsemen, but instantly again assumed the offensive, following the retreating Vercingetorix to Alesia. Then followed one of the most remarkable sieges in history—a siege in which all Caesar's tried leadership and the resources of the Roman engineers were needed to wrest victory from tremendously adverse odds. Probably Caesar reckoned that the struggle with the huge army of relief would be sharp but short, believing that (as usual in the case of such sudden levies) no adequate provision would be made for their maintenance in the field.

The fall of Alesia marked the crisis and climax of the whole war. Operations thereafter were only to extinguish the smoldering brands of rebellion—or should we say of patriotism? Worthy of note, however, is his winter campaign against the Bituriges, carried out no doubt with much suffering on the part of his willing soldiers because of the intolerable cold and the rough, frozen roads. Finally he reduced Uxellodunum, not by assault, but by tunneling to cut off the water-supply. Gaul was at last subdued, never again to revolt.

We have sketched in rapid survey some of the chief events of the conquest, so far as they have to do with our subject. With these observations and details in mind we may now give as a summary some of the leading characteristics of Caesar's strategy.

He placed great reliance on rapidity of movement—*magnis itineribus* is not of rare occurrence in the *Commentaries*. As Napoleon puts it, he knew "how to multiply himself by quickness." It is not too much to say it was his major characteristic. He frequently surprised the Gauls, not only by the speed with which he covered long distances, but also by unexpected nocturnal movements, often leaving camp soon after midnight. He also had the rare faculty of deciding

instantly, in time of sudden crisis, on the very thing mature reflection shows to have been best. When in battle all else failed, he cast in the wavering balance the weight of his own example and staked his life on the outcome; and such was his influence over his men that his presence in actual combat inspired them to efforts well nigh superhuman. He used extraordinary care in providing supplies. As a rule, he kept his forces concentrated, or at least so disposed that they could readily be brought together. He constantly strove to strike the enemy in detail. How many times he succeeded in getting the fiery Gauls to rush up hill to attack him should not be overlooked. He also habitually took into account the temperament of his opponents.

In conclusion let us notice the plan of the whole war. Here we find him far-sighted to a remarkable degree. The province, when he took possession, was a sort of salient, thrust forward into the enemy's country. His first campaign against the Helvetians resulted in rendering safe the right flank of this salient.² He could now advance north and northwest. He made the states along the Saône and Rhone as friendly as possible, thus keeping his line of communication with the province open. By passing over the watershed of the Saône valley he had open to him the valleys of the Loire, the Seine, and the Meuse. Later he virtually established the Aisne as a second base of operations against the Belgians and the Britons. Only in the last terrific struggle with Vercingetorix, when he was dealing with southwest and central Gaul, was his line of communication with his first base, the province, really threatened, and this by the unexpected revolt of the Aedui. How prompt he was in the attempt to reopen this line of communication we see in his retrograde movement, after his junction with Labienus and directly before his cavalry battle with Vercingetorix. Thus it is seen that Caesar paid close heed to the geographical features of the country as a whole—something of which a general of small ability would have been incapable.

Although, as was said at the outset, he had under his control the best fighting machine extant, yet it was the force of Caesar's subtlety, his wariness, his rapidity, his boldness, his far-sightedness—in a word, his genius—that, through the agency of a dozen legions, subdued a people of eight million souls and turned back the tide of German immigration, thus romanizing, and hence civilizing, all Gaul.

Notes

Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

IS ὥσπερ EVER TEMPORAL

Under temporal conjunctions Kühner-Gerth³, § 566. 1. A cites ὥσπερ "in Herodotus." In § 567. 1 we have the example, καὶ ὥσπερ ὠρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος, ἐπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπον, Hdt. vi. 41. Strachan, in his edition of the sixth book of Herodotus, calls this clause temporal and compares Thuc. viii. 23: Ἀστύοχος δὲ . . . τέσσαρσι ναυσὶν, ὥσπερ ὤρμητο, πλέων ἐκ τῶν Κεγχρεῶν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Χίον. Here Jowett gives the translation, "as he intended," and Classen-Steup, translating ἤπερ ὤρμητο in ii. 67. 1 by, *wie sie vorhaben*, compares viii. 23. Brackett, *Temporal Clauses in Herodotus*, p. 214, rejects the temporal meaning of ὥσπερ in Hdt. vi. 41 and accepts "as he intended." In both the passages in question the temporal meaning is to me unsatisfactory, but so also is the other. In proof of the meaning "as he intended" in Thuc. viii. 23 editors refer to viii. 20: ἀποπλεύσασαι ἐς Κεγχρεῖας τὸν ἐς τὴν Χίον πλοῦν αὐθις παρεσκευάζοντο. But in other passages of a similar kind Thucydides uses ἤπερ or ἵναπερ ὤρμητο, "whither he was bound" (ii. 67. 1; iv. 48. 6; vi. 74. 1), and though "as he intended" is not out of the question in Thuc. viii. 23, this passage should be interpreted in connection with Hdt. vi. 41, where such a meaning is flat, to say the least. In Herodotus the words which follow are, παραμείβετό τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες οἱ περιπίπτονσι τῇσι νησί. Taken as a whole the passage may mean; "Miltiades sailed through the Gulf of Melas just as he had started from Cardia (i. e., without mishap), but when he was passing by the Chersonese the Phoenicians fell upon his ships." A similar meaning is suitable in Thuc. viii. 23: "Astyochus with four ships, just as he had started (without mishap), arrived at Chios," and the position of ὥσπερ ὤρμητο after τέσσαρσι ναυσὶν is favorable to this interpretation. One more passage, Thuc. v. 1. 1, should be considered in this connection: καὶ οἱ μὲν Δῆλιοι Ἀτραμύντειον Φαρνάκον δόντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ᾤκησαν, οὕτως ὥς ἕκαστος ὤρμητο. Here instead of ὥσπερ, we have οὕτως ὥς, which is certainly not temporal. The meaning is not, I think, "according as each felt an inclination to accept the offer" (Bloomfield), nor does it mean "that the Delians did not migrate in

a body, but as each chose to go" (Graves). The phrase rather conveys the idea that the Delians settled in Asia without change in their several occupations or their relations to one another.

A. G. LAIRD

PLAUTUS *TRINUMMUS* 258

In a recent number of this *Journal* (II, pp. 171 f.) Professor Shorey called attention to the frequent use of οὐδὲν δέομαι in the sense of "I have no use for." In a later number (II, p. 306) Professor E. W. Fay cited the similar usage of *opus est* in Latin. A still closer parallel is found in Plautus *Trin.* 258:

apage te, Amor, non places, nil te utor.

This use of *utor* is not recognized in Harpers' *Latin Dictionary*. Of course, the regular Plautine phrase for this meaning is *nil moror*; cf. *Capt.* 16; *Poen.* 492; *Trin.* 297, *et passim*.

Another interesting example of the Greek phrase occurs in Plutarch, *Cimon* 11: οἱ σύμμαχοι . . . πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν δέομενοι, γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῆν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, κτλ. Here the meaning of οὐδὲν δέομενοι is clearly defined by its opposite, ἐπιθυμοῦντες.

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Reports from the Classical Field

It is the purpose of this department to keep the readers of the *Journal* informed of events and undertakings in the classical field, and to make them familiar with the varying conditions under which classical work is being done, and with the aims and experience of those who are in one way or another endeavoring to increase its effectiveness. The success of the department will naturally depend to a great extent on the co-operation of the individual readers themselves. Every one interested in the *Journal* and in what it is trying to do is therefore cordially invited to report anything of interest that may come to his notice. Inquiries and suggestions will also be useful in directing the attention of the editors to things which may otherwise escape their notice. Communications should be addressed to J. J. Schlicher, 1811 N. Eighth Street, Terre Haute Ind.

Celebration of Dr. Collar's Anniversary at the Roxbury Latin School.—

Of the many teachers in all parts of the country who know Dr. William C. Collar either personally or through his textbooks, few, probably, realize that he finished in June fifty years of continuous service (forty years as head-master) in the Roxbury Latin School. During these years his fine scholarship, never-failing enthusiasm, and high ideals of manhood have been an inspiration to hundreds of boys. Under his wise leadership the Roxbury Latin School has risen from a comparatively humble position to one of the best-known schools in the country.

The graduates of the school tendered Dr. Collar a reception on the day before Commencement, and Professor George L. Kittredge of Harvard, president of the Alumni Association, presented him with a large loving-cup. The closing exercises were made notable by addresses by Dr. Edward Everett Hale and President Eliot of Harvard, who expressed in marked terms their appreciation of Dr. Collar and the work which he has done. After the customary diplomas had been awarded to the graduating class, Dr. James De Normandie, in the name of the trustees of the school, presented to the retiring head-master a beautifully illuminated parchment bearing the following words:

GUILIELMO COE COLLAR
A CURATORIBUS
SCHOLAE LATINAE ROXBURIENSIS
SALUTEM.

Tibi quinquaginta per annos scholae veteris nostrae praeceptor laborioso et rectori laudatissimo hoc amoris gratiarumque pignus tribuendum curavimus.

¶ Quae olim nascens et parva schola illustris vocabatur, illustriorem nuper redidisti. Magnus adolescentium numerus ex hoc seminario in Universitatem per vicinam adire solitus, te ministrante, maior confluit.

¶ Octo per lustra lectis pueris hinc in varia collegia egressis, nos et opus tuum et quo animo perfectum est comprobamus. Tibi magnas gratias agimus quod gregem

puerorum et turbam ad desideria erudiens bonarum literarum et omnis veritatis exquirendae exemplar semper praeuisti quam bona studia in bonos mores abire debeant.

Te rectorem insignem, eruditissimum; oratorem de pueris erudiendis facundum, gravem; virum iustum, integerrimum; hoc in anno procul negotiis, vacuum oneribus, studia tranquilliora incepturum, consalutamus.

Nos esse fortunatos praecipue opinamur quod inter nos mansurus, discipulis praeceptoribusque beneficio perenni, et sapientiae tuae thesauros ac fontes largiter sparsurus, RECTOR EMERITUS vocaberis.

Amicitiam nostram quinquaginta per annos stabilem et infractam, necnon scholae nostrae fructus et honores tuis auctos ingeniis, recordamur. Tecum maxime gaudeamus quod tibi sponte tua caestus artemque reponenti alumnus tuus, quondam non ingratus, reverentissime ac fideliter tantam molem suscipiet.

Positis oneribus, ut anni et honores super te cumulentur! Utinam invenias studia amoena, horas iucundiores, senectutem sanam et utilem, amicorum catervas, domi felicitatem, foris laudem et rerum humanarum contemplationes divinarumque beatas!
—C. W. G.

A Latin School Paper.—A Latin school publication, *Latine*, has recently been launched by the students of the Oak Park (Ill.) High School. It is to be published monthly, and consists of five pages of Latin editorials, news, jokes, poems, and advertisements, bound in a simple, but artistic cover. The tone is playful and humorous throughout, and the contents reflect the daily life and interests of the pupils so faithfully that it is quite possible that a desire to read the paper will result in some access of strenuous digging among the brethren of the back seat.

We are indebted to Miss Frances E. Sabin, instructor of Latin, for a copy of the first number and a description of the undertaking, from which we take the following. On the first page is the dedication "Dis Manibus Caesaris Ciceronis Vergili," and the well-known eulogy of literature from the *Pro Archia*. The initial editorial reflects the spirit in which the whole is carried out:

Latinum bonum et facile scribere conabimur ne vobis dolorem capitis det. Si inusitatis verbis utemur et constructionibus quae ab illis in Hale-Buck dissentiunt, culpa non nostra erit, sed temporum. In ea re libertatem aut mortem habeamus! Petimus a vobis ut in eo incepto nobis non aures sed ingenia accommodetis. Quo modo? Attendite! Ponite in cistam in tabulario (cella principalis) quodcumque novi audivistis. Erimus semper auribus arrectis, sed paucis hominibus omnia videre et audire a Fatis conceditur. Pecuniam dare non possumus sed—quod melius est—orabimur ut di vobis gratiam ac meremini referant. Valet, amici. Pax vobiscum.

This is followed by a description of the members of the faculty and five stanzas, somewhat mediaeval in their scansion, which lament the departure of several of their number.

O mores! O tempora! mihi dolenti
Numquam laetitia aut risus iam est!
Nemo et nihil in orbe terrarum,
Nihil iucundum videri potest.

The subject of the following stanza is Miss Abbott, who went to Turkey as a missionary:

Utinam iterum possem videre
Vultum rotundum amatae Abbatis!
O cur paganos trans maria petis?
Nonne paganici nos sumus satis?

Then follows a parody of the opening lines of Caesar, *Schola nostra est omnis divisa in partes tres*, etc. Then the virtues of the favorite janitor are sung in eight brief stanzas "Ad Jacobum:"

Vir potentissime,	Sapientissimus
O clamantissime,	Et fidelissimus,
Sonans plenissime,	Memorandissimus
Tu terres me!	Janitor rex!

An imaginary soliloquy by the daughter of Ariovistus before her marriage with Dumnorix, school notes, and jokes come next. The pupils are exhorted to go to the football game and *clamoribus vestris invate*, instead of going to Chicago to see the *Catulos, Tigrides et Soxes*.

Among the advertisements, a shoe store and a coal dealer are immortalized as follows:

Carlson tabernam in Via Lacu habet. Hic calceos optimos pretio minimo vendit! Pedes tui magni an parvi? Nihil refert. Carlson calceos ad pedes quoslibet aptare potest. Iurat autem per deos immortales eos te non usturos esse.

Delos Hull carbonem vendit. Hiems adpropinquat. Uxorem liberosque frigidos esse vis? Minime, dicis. Ergo, i subito et carbonem eme.

The concluding sentence announces that *discipuli Latini Roosevelt et Fairbanks consulis haec ad lucem proferunt*.

A Recent Greek Play in England.—In accordance with a custom of long standing, the students of Bradford College, Berks, England, presented the *Antigone* of Sophocles in June. The same play was given in 1898, the other two plays performed by this college being the *Agamemnon* (last given in 1900) and the *Alcestis* (1904). The college has an open-air Greek theater, and five performances were given this year, at intervals of two or three days.

Plautus in English.—A performance of the *Menaechmi*, similar to those which have been given for a number of years at Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. (noticed in the *Classical Journal* for November, 1906), was given on May 9, by the Plautus class of Drake University, at Des Moines. As at Beloit, the students translated the play into English blank verse, and produced it in this form at the university auditorium. The performance was given under the direction of Professors Denny and Brown, and was a decided success.

The Classical Weekly.—The Classical Association of the Middle States and Maryland, which held its first meeting at Columbia University in May and which starts with a membership of 170, has taken over the *Latin Leaflet*, and the latter now becomes the organ of the Association under the new name given above. The

Leaflet has been published for the last seven years as a four-page weekly, but under the new arrangement its size has been doubled. The annual subscription price for persons who are not members of the Association of the Middle States and Maryland will be one dollar. Professor Gonzalez Lodge of Columbia University is the new editor-in-chief, and he is assisted by an editorial board of six. Twenty-five numbers of the *Weekly* will appear the first year (1907-8).

Ancient Coins for Purposes of Illustration.—Original materials for the illustration of Greek and Roman life are unfortunately quite limited, and it is not possible for every individual or school to secure many of them. But it is strange that more schools do not avail themselves of such opportunities as do exist for securing a few lamps, vases, or coins, or at least some fragments of pottery or marble. A good many small things of this kind are in existence and for sale at reasonable prices. Our attention is called to the matter by a catalogue of some 800 Greek and Roman coins which Dr. G. N. Olcott (438 W. 11th St., New York) has for sale. About half of the pieces are offered at prices ranging from twenty to sixty cents, while the others are higher.

Classical Meeting in New Hampshire.—A meeting of classical teachers of the state was held on October 18 at Concord, as a section of the State Teachers' Association. While this meeting has the same aims as the general Classical Association of New England, attendance at it was not confined to those who belong to the latter organization. The programme consisted of the following papers: "Cicero as an Orator and Man of Letters" (Professors Lord and Moore, of Dartmouth College); "Aims, Possibilities and Difficulties in Reading at Sight" (Mr. Swett, of Franklin); "The Linguistic Training of the Classical Teacher" (Professor Husband, of Dartmouth College); "Reports on the Classical Association of New England, and on the Organization of New Hampshire Teachers" (Professor Kirtland of Phillips Exeter Academy and Mr. Libby of Manchester).

Classical Conference of Southern California.—The meeting this year was held at the Los Angeles High School, May 11, with the following programme: "The Disciplinary Value of Translation" (Mr. Goodnow); "The Teaching of Greek and Latin in the Schools of Ireland" (Miss McPeak); "A Trip through Central Italy" (Miss Trotter); "The Teaching of the Classics through English Translation" (Miss Woodbury); "Cicero's First Public Oration—A Translation of his *Pro Roscio Amerino*" (Mr. Williams).

Exercises like the one last given, which are a special feature of the programmes of the Conference, deserve consideration elsewhere on account of their possibilities for helpful discussion, and the comparison and elevation of standards in translation which will result.

The Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor and the Assyro-Babylonian Orient.—This expedition was organized by Professor Sterrett, of the department of Greek, and is supported by a fund of \$10,000 contributed by a number of persons who are interested in the undertaking. The members of the expedition are Drs. Olmstead

and Harris and Messrs. Charles and Wrench, all graduates of recent years, who have had special training as graduate students in this country, and in the American Schools of Archaeology at Athens and Jerusalem. They sailed from New York, March 7, and will be gone about eighteen months. In this time, starting from Ancyra, they will visit many of the ancient centers of trade and civilization in Asia Minor and the near East, taking photographs, making measurements, and copying inscriptions. They will make a special effort to determine the exact location of the sites and their exact distance and direction from each other, and will study the natural features of the country with a view to their bearing on ancient lines of communication and trade and on the changes of empire.

Friedrich Blass.—The death of Friedrich Blass at Halle on the fifth of March has called out an appreciative sketch of his life by Professor Mahaffy in the *Athenaeum* of March 16, and another by Professor Seymour in the July number of *Classical Philology*.

As we read the long list of contributions that Blass has made to classical scholarship, amounting, as Professor Seymour tells us, to more than a volume a year in the forty-four years of his professional life, we are equally impressed with the breadth of his attainments and the marvelous productivity of his career. The *Attische Beredsamkeit* will remain the great monument of his career; in its successive volumes and revisions it embodies the results of more than thirty years of constant study of the orators. But Blass's revised edition of Part I of Kühner's *Greek Grammar*, his *Hermeneutics* and *Greek Paleography* in Müller's *Handbuch*, and his *Grammar of New Testament Greek* will long be indispensable tools of the Greek student. A part of Blass's work in his later years in the emendation of Greek texts will be subject to more immediate revision by other scholars; his extreme trust in quotations as a source of textual evidence, and his application of his constantly changing theories of prose rhythm to textual criticism, have not commended themselves to scholars generally. Yet the great body of his textual work will be of permanent value.

Blass was a prodigious worker; he was at his desk before light on the winter mornings, and hard at work till late in the afternoon. An illustration of his rigorous demands upon himself is seen in the fact that at one time when he was especially engaged in work on the *De corona* of Demosthenes he committed the entire speech to memory. But with all the pressure of his work he kept his evenings apart, devoted to his friends and his family. He was a life-long lover in a singularly happy home; as simple and genuine as a child in his affections, without ostentation or conceit, he was at his best in the more personal relationships. No personal service to student or friend was too great for his large sympathy. Plain, almost uncouth, in outward appearance, he was yet a perfect gentleman. Professor Mahaffy says truthfully of him, "To his modesty and simplicity he added personal piety . . . In this, too, he was not like other men, but was worthy to stand with those great men of old whose learning was all the nobler because their life was purer, and who combined the love of knowledge with the fear of God."—C. D. A.

Book Reviews

Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssée. Étude géographique, historique et sociale. Par PHILIPPE CHAMPAULT. Paris: E. Leroux, 1906. Pp. 602. Fr. 6.

This book is an aftermath of M. Bérard's *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* (2 vols., 4to, 1902-3). The argument is drawn from toponomy, historico-sociological data, and detailed topography. With Homeric antiquities the author concerns himself but little.

The plain IE scholar will be dazed at the facile identification of the Greek place-names with Semitic words, but may have a more open mind for some of the historical and sociological arguments advanced: e. g., the connection between the Euboeans and Phaeacians as agents for mining interests, as workers and traffickers in metals, etc., with their land and water routes. The Phaeacians, the author urges, lived somewhere about the Mare Tyrrhenum, an evident central *milieu* for the whole "episode" and for the adventures related to Alcinoos. He explains the enfranchisement of Mediterranean Colonial Dames like Arete and Nausicaa (and Dido), and more precarious ladies like Calypso and Circe, the Sirens and Scylla, as evidence of a matriarchal home rule developed in the long absences of the adventurous traders. On the dignity of woman's position throughout the Homeric world he does not generalize. The non-martial character of the Phaeacians on land is apparently explained by their "Pantoffel-regiment."

Some of the topographical details will be read with interest by those who believe in identifying Homeric sites. Dr. Dörpfeld (*Leukas*, p. 21) has shown—*pace* v. Wilamowitz—that to be "Homergläubig" is not necessarily "abergläubig." Homeric topography may become as scientific as paleontology, but Champault's elaborate seismological argument (e. g.) for Scheria-Ischia proves too much and these peninsulas with two harbors are characteristic of the coasts (without resorting to earthquake subsidence) from Cnidus and Lindus to Tarentum. Bérard probably misinterprets *Od.* vi. 263 ff. (see Perrin *ad loc.*), but his western Corfu peninsula would suit either interpretation (this Champault fails to point out), and his identifications on shore are less forced than those at Ischia. Champault, however, discredits the whole Corfu identification by urging, *inter alia*, that a north wind could not drive Odysseus on this southwestern exposure, though he fails in turn to make clear how Odysseus could be driven down the Tyrrhene Sea for two days by the north wind without passing west of Ischia. Champault's identifications (with B=Bérard's when different) are as follows: The Lotos Eaters=Cape Bon, Tunis (B=I. Jerba, Syrtis Minor); the Cyclopes=region near Cumae; Aeolus=Island of Aegades (B=Stromboli); Laestrygonians=N. E. Sardinia (B=N. Sardinia); Circe's Island=I. Pianosa, off Elba (B=C. Circeo,

Latium, not an island); the Land of the Shades=N. W. Sardinia (B=L. Lucrinus); the Sirens=Licosa with Ischia della Chitarra, near Paestum (B=Galli Is.); the Wandering Island=Lipari Islands including Stromboli (B=Salina of the Lipari Islands); Charybdis and Scylla=near Straits of Messina; The Harbor of the Sun=near Taormina-Giardini (B=near Messina-Naxos); Calypso's Island=Rock of Gibraltar (B=Perijil Islands opposite Gibraltar); Scheria=Ischia (B=Corfu, *west*).

The identification with Ischia is the kernel of the book. The *Telemachy* is considered as a prelude to the Phaeacian "episode"—one of its main purposes is "une déclaration solennelle de vendetta" (p. 8). . . . "Héroïquement déclarée par un adolescent, la vendetta est héroïquement accomplie par un homme seul" (p. 10). On pp. 136-38 sixteen reasons (reducible to six) are given for Scheria=Ischia.

The events recorded in the *Odyssey* are referred to the twelfth century. The middle of the ninth century is indicated for (the) Homer (of the *Odyssey*), an Ionian of Asia Minor who visited the Mare Tyrrhenum.

Few readers will be convinced by either the method or the matter of the book, but there is much that is suggestive. We may at least be grateful for the author's (self-destructive) demonstration (cf. p. 547) of "le sans-gêne" of some traditional identifications—Scheria=Corfu amongst them. We may even awaken in less fretful humor from our miraculous sleep in the ship of Alcinoos to meet Dr. Dörpfeld at Leucas-Ithaca.

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T. Macchi Plauti Mostellaria. Edited with notes Explanatory and Critical, by EDWARD A. SONNENSCHNEIN. Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907. Pp. xxii+176. \$1.10.

This book has profited much by the twenty-two years that have elapsed between the first and second editions. The text has been thoroughly revised, the Introduction, aside from the metrical part, enlarged and partly rewritten, and the notes rearranged and greatly expanded. In this new form the volume should prove an even more useful edition than before.

The text, despite the introduction of some thirty new conjectures by the editor, is on the whole more conservative than before, having in many places, especially where the tradition rests upon the Palatine MSS alone, gone back to the formerly rejected manuscript reading. Its adherence to the tradition is not slavish, however, as the number of emendations recorded in the critical notes abundantly proves.

The explanatory notes, as well as the critical, now follow the text, instead of standing beneath it as in the former edition. The added matter consists largely of additional illustrative material in both Latin and English, together with much new and illuminating grammatical and exegetical comment. The

critical commentary, besides discussing passages concerning which modern editors still differ as to the true reading, contains rather frequent notes on the meter and scansion of different lines.

These metrical notes are all that is left to represent the section on "Metres" in the Introduction to the first edition. This is unfortunate. One cannot, in this country at least, "assume a knowledge of the ordinary phenomena of Plautine prosody" on the part of numerous students with whom one might wish to read the *Mostellaria*. Even the editor who has "deliberately avoided the discussion of vexed questions on which Plautine scholars are divided in opinion" might well have felt bound to give at least a brief introduction to the prosody and commoner meters of his author.

The book is well printed and attractively bound. The text is interleaved with paper of a good quality.

CHARLES N. COLE

OBERLIN COLLEGE

Précis de phonétique historique du Latin. Par MAX NIEDERMANN.
Avec un avant-propos par A. Meillet. Paris: Klincksieck, 1906.
Pp. xii + 151. Fr. 2.50.

The conditions which this excellent little work aims to alleviate are so forcibly stated in the preface by Professor Meillet, Bréal's successor in the Collège de France, that I cannot refrain from quoting the substance of his remarks. "Comparative Grammar, which has revolutionized all our ideas of language, has not, so to speak, penetrated into the academic teaching of the ancient languages, and has scarcely modified the doctrines of the grammars which are in the hands of students. Nowhere, certainly is the divorce more complete between the scientific doctrines long since established and the customary instruction. It is this without doubt which contributes most to render the grammatical instruction ordinarily given barren and tiresome; separated from all modern ideas, remaining scholastic in form and substance, it has become a dead element; it limits itself to facts which are brought into no relation, or only under conceptions which are antiquated and contrary to everything that the pupils learn elsewhere. Thus sentiment becomes every day more hostile to the study of grammar, and every year the hours devoted to a branch of instruction of which everyone feels vaguely the unfruitfulness are reduced. It seems, however, that a science whose object is to study the principal means of expression of human thought merits the attention of students, and is capable, if properly taught, of exciting a lively interest."

The conditions here described are by no means peculiar to France, nor have efforts to meet them been lacking elsewhere, as the author observes p. vi, where he calls attention to some of the most recent attempts in English (the Hale-Buck *Latin Grammar*), German, and Swedish, to present the results of scientific grammar in elementary form.

The author, a young Swiss scholar, who has proved his competence as an

investigator by various special studies, exhibits admirable skill in presentation, especially in meeting the limitation which he feels obliged to set. Frankly recognizing that many students of Latin are unacquainted with Greek, he abstains resolutely from the citation of Greek cognate forms. At times this cannot fail to be a source of embarrassment, but it will be astonishing to some to find how much can be made of strictly internal comparison in the hands of one who has at command the facts and principles gained by a wider outlook.

While it is impossible even in an elementary work to avoid entirely controversial matters, and there are some points in which I disagree with the views expressed and others in which I am decidedly on the author's side (as in his preference, p. 39, for the older explanation of the retention of *oe* in *poena*, etc., as compared with that offered by Sommer and adopted by Brugmann), most of the statements made may be accepted as representing views in which all scholars are in substantial agreement.

CARL DARLING BUCK

Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology. Edited with Revised Text, Translation, Introduction, and Notes by J. W. MACKAIL. New Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. Pp. xi + 433. \$4.00.

The abiding unity of Greek literature and the beauty of many aspects of Greek life cannot be better illustrated than by the epigram. For the epigram had an unbroken history of some sixteen hundred years wherein it expressed in unchanging meter the hopes and fears and simple joys of real life in Greek country and town. Mr. Mackail's *Greek Anthology* published in 1890 contained most of the epigrams of real literary merit. The general plan of the book, which has been out of print for some time, has not been altered in this new, revised edition. There are still twelve divisions of subject-matter entitled as before. Twenty epigrams have been added, which are now numbered I. 16, 19, 44, 57; II. 16, 24, 27; III. 6, 26, 40, 59; IV. 13, 34, 46; V. 16; VII. 6; VIII. 14; XI. 26, 50; XII. 19. Damascius, Isidorus, Phaennus, Phantias, and Thucydides are the new authors represented. Such epigrams as II. 24; III. 6, 26; IV. 13 are welcome additions to a selection that was admirable before. Ten epigrams, formerly I. 16, 20, 57; II. 14, 17; IV. 28; V. 16; X. 13, 34, 44, have been omitted.

The elaborate introductory essay remains a masterpiece of fine appreciation. Nowhere else can one find so clear an account of the epigram and so sympathetic an interpretation of it in its bearings upon Greek life. The translations are examples of finished literary expression, although now and then too great literalness appears as when *κηρυκοβάται* (II. 36) is rendered "goer on the cliffs." A few printer's errors still remain: *conventional* should be read on p. 40, l. 8 from the bottom; *that* on p. 66, l. 5 from the top, and *hills* on p. 183, l. 21. Greek breathings and accents are wanting in places, as, for example, in I. 29 where

Ομματα, ὦ and δέ should be read. The Biographical Index pp. 303-35, remains, perhaps, the most serviceable part of the commentary. Notes on the selections, pp. 339-422, and complete indices conclude a work that is as stimulating to the student of English as of Greek literature.

J. G. WINTER.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Selections from Plutarch's Life of Caesar. Edited by R. L. A. DU PONTET. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. Pp. iv + 108. \$0.50.

This adaptation of Plutarch's *Life of Caesar* has been made for school use by a master at Winchester, England. The book contains selected passages with appropriate titles. Occasionally the Shakespearean parallels furnish apt headings for the selections. Within the passages slight alterations have been made, sometimes by omission, sometimes by "contraction of overlong sentences." "Only some half-dozen single words," the preface states, "have been altered to more usual synonyms." Sufficient and really practical notes are provided. For a vocabulary the boy is expected to use Liddell and Scott's smaller lexicon.

In addition to its other merits, this little book possesses one of decided value: it is most interesting to read, as boys who have tried it testify. In American schools it is suited to the third year of Greek, perhaps as a weekly exercise in addition to the reading of Homer. It might be used even earlier in the course. Teachers who wish to broaden the range of school reading, and do not object to Greek of the Roman age for this purpose, must desire that such well-edited and well-printed editions as this may be multiplied.

ALLEN R. BENNER

PHILLIPS ACADEMY, ANDOVER, MASS.

Uebungsbuch zum Uebersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Griechische.

Für die Klassen des Obergymnasiums. Von KARL SCHENKL. Bearbeitet von Heinrich Schenkl und Florian Weigel. Elfte, gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Wien: F. Tempsky, 1905. Pp. 144. K. 2 h. 10.

This manual of advanced Greek prose composition contains eighty-four pages of German (and the pages are of very generous size) to be translated into Greek. These are followed by the German-Greek vocabulary. The first sixteen pages review the principles of syntax in disconnected sentences, and with reference to the grammar of Curtius-von Hartel-Weigel. The next division of the book (forty-six pages) contains German passages connected with the student's reading of the following Greek authors: Xenophon (*Anabasis*, *Cyropaedia*, *Memorabilia*); Herodotus; Demosthenes (the three *Olynthiacs*, the first three *Philippics*, *On the Peace*, *On the Chersonese*); Plato (*Apology*, *Crito*, *Phaedo*);

Sophocles. The third division furnishes practice on passages not immediately connected with the student's reading.

The book resembles many English and American textbooks prepared for college use.

ALLEN R. BENNER

PHILLIPS ACADEMY
Andover, Mass.

Recent Discoveries in the Roman Forum, 1898-1904. By an Eyewitness, ST. CLAIR BADDELEY. A Handbook for Travelers, with a Map Specially Made for This Work by Order of the Director of the Excavations, and 45 Illustrations. New York: Macmillan; London: George Allen. Pp. xii + 115. \$0.90.

This little book will no doubt be found useful and interesting to visitors to the Roman Forum who desire a brief account of the recent discoveries made on this celebrated spot. The writer is an enthusiastic admirer of Comm. Giacomo Boni, the director of the excavations, and he accepts his conclusions everywhere almost without question. The result of this is that with reference to the identification of certain structures the author expresses views that are no longer generally current. For instance Mr. Baddeley still explains the eight low arches west of the Schola Xantha as the substructures of the Rostra removed by Julius Caesar from its original position on the boundary of the Forum and the Comitium. The discussion about the exact site of this old Rostra is at the present moment attracting much attention, but the arcade just mentioned has no part in the controversy. Throughout the book the author is rather too confident in his conclusions. He apparently does not doubt that the circular construction on the pavement of one of the rooms of the Regia is the Sacrum Martis (p. 31), or that the base brought to light in front of the temple of Divus Julius supported the equestrian statue of Q. Marcius Tremulus (p. 77), or that the *pozzi* discovered in the vicinity of the Curia Julia were augural pits (p. 18). The monuments are treated approximately in the order in which they were excavated, and are usually described quite fully. The illustrations of the book, though small, are new and interesting. But in order to get an orientation in this subject the classical teacher will do much better to use Professor Hülsen's *The Roman Forum* (Rome, 1906), which is both more critical and more reliable.

WALTER DENNISON

New Literature

BOOKS

CHABERT, S. *Histoire sommaire des études d'épigraphie grecque*. Paris: Leroux, 1906. Pp. 166.

A concise and well-arranged account of the subject. Chap. i deals with the use of inscriptions by Greek historians and orators from the earliest period; chaps. ii-vi with the various collections; chap. vii summarizes minor works, and gives the results of excavations.

FARNELL, LEWIS RICHARD. *The Cults of the Greek States*. Vols. III and IV. Oxford: University Press, 1907. Pp. 393 and 454. Plates 40+52. \$9.75.

A continuation of the earlier volumes (1895) on a more extensive scale. Vol. III includes Earth, Demeter, Persephone, Hades, and Rhea Cybele; Vol. IV Poseidon and Apollo. The sources are collected and printed in full. The origin and cults of Apollo are discussed at length; he is not a sun-god, but as the ancient title *Lykeios* implies, a "wolf-god" of hunters and shepherds. Excellent accounts are given of the Delphic Oracle, the Eleusinian Mysteries, and the Thesmophoria. In the explanation of the last the matriarchal theory is treated with scepticism.

HELM, RUDOLPH. *Lucian und Menipp*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. Pp. 392. M. 10.

A thorough discussion of Lucian's debt to Menippus in content, language, and form. The influence of Menippus is revealed especially by the presence of ideas and language peculiar to the Cynics, and by the historical allusions. Much light is thrown upon Lucian's methods of composition.

LUCKENBACH, H. e ADAMI, C. *Arte e storia nel mondo antico*. Illustrazioni e note proposte agli alunni delle scuole classiche e ad ogni persona colta. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1907. L. 6.00.

An atlas of ancient art consisting of 138 plates, with 468 illustrations of the most important works of art and monuments of antiquity, especially of Greece and Rome. The book could be effectively used to supplement the work of Latin and Greek classes in high schools and colleges and the low price makes its acquisition possible for any school library.

STRONG, MRS. ARTHUR. *Roman Sculpture. From Augustus to Constantine*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907. Pp. xvi+408. 130 plates.

An interesting and suggestive book which protests against the common view that Roman art was nothing more than an imitation of Greek models. Mrs. Strong believes that Rome was the main center from which radiated the ideas which refashioned art throughout the contemporary world, and it is her aim in this volume to point to the leading characteristics which dominated art wherever Roman influence penetrated. The numerous illustrations, the frequent summaries of books and articles by French and German critics, and the detailed descriptions of monuments like the Ara Pacis and Trajan's Column make the book especially useful for those who have not access to a well-equipped archaeological library.

VAN WAGENINGEN, J. *Album Terentianum picturas continens ex imagine phototypa Lugdunensi Terentii codd. Ambrosiani H 75 et Parisini 7899 sumptas et lithographia expressas. Praefatus et picturas latine interpretatus est J. V. W. Groningue: P. Noordhoff, 1907. In fol.; pp. 88. Fr. 7.50.*

VAN WAGENINGEN, J. *Scaenica Romana*. P. Noordhoff, 1907. Pp. 68. Fr. 2.25.

The *Album Terentianum* contains lithographic reproductions of the illustrations in the Codex Ambrosianus supplemented by illustrations found in the Codex Parisinus. As the number of those who have access to the fine but costly reproduction of the Ambrosianus in the series of deVries is relatively small, Van Wageningen's work will be welcomed by many students and teachers of Terence. The reproductions (two on each page) are well executed and clear, though of course they lack the colors. Each one is accompanied by a brief description of the scene, the costumes, and the gestures.

The other volume, *Scaenica Romana*, is a supplement to the *Album*, in which the author has made a considerable collection of material relating to the equipment of the theater, to the actors, and their costumes, gestures, and so forth.

ARTICLES

ALLEN, JAMES TURNER. On the Costume of the Greek Tragic Actor in the Fifth Century B. C. *Classical Quarterly* I (1907), pp. 226-28.

Starting with the acceptance of the theory set forth in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XVI (1905), pp. 123 ff. by Kendall K. Smith, that the high-soled shoe or buskin in Greek tragedy was the "invention of centuries after the classical period," the author takes the position that chest-pads, stomach-pads, and the onkos on the mask, were also late. He thinks that the aesthetic sense of the Athenians of the days of Phidias would not have tolerated such monstrosities on the stage, and points out that Lucian's description (*Περὶ Ὀρχ.* 27) of the costume of the tragic actor proves nothing for the fifth century B. C.

GEYER, P. Die wirkliche Verfasserin der "Peregrinatio Silviae." *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* XV (1907), pp. 233-52.

Accepts the theory set forth by Férotin (*Le véritable auteur de la Peregrinatio Silviae, la vierge espagnole Ethéria*, Paris, 1903) that the author of the *Peregrinatio* was the nun Etheria, an account of whose pilgrimage was found by Férotin in a letter contained in the autobiography of Valerius, a Spaniard of the seventh century (Migne, *Patrol. lat.* LXXXVII, Col. 439-56). The similarities between the *Peregrinatio* and Valerius' description of Etheria's pilgrimage are, Férotin claims, so striking that Etheria's authorship of the *Peregrinatio* is established beyond question. While accepting Férotin's views on this point, Geyer does not, however, think that it has been proved that Etheria was a Spaniard; the alleged examples of Spanish Latin are not convincing.

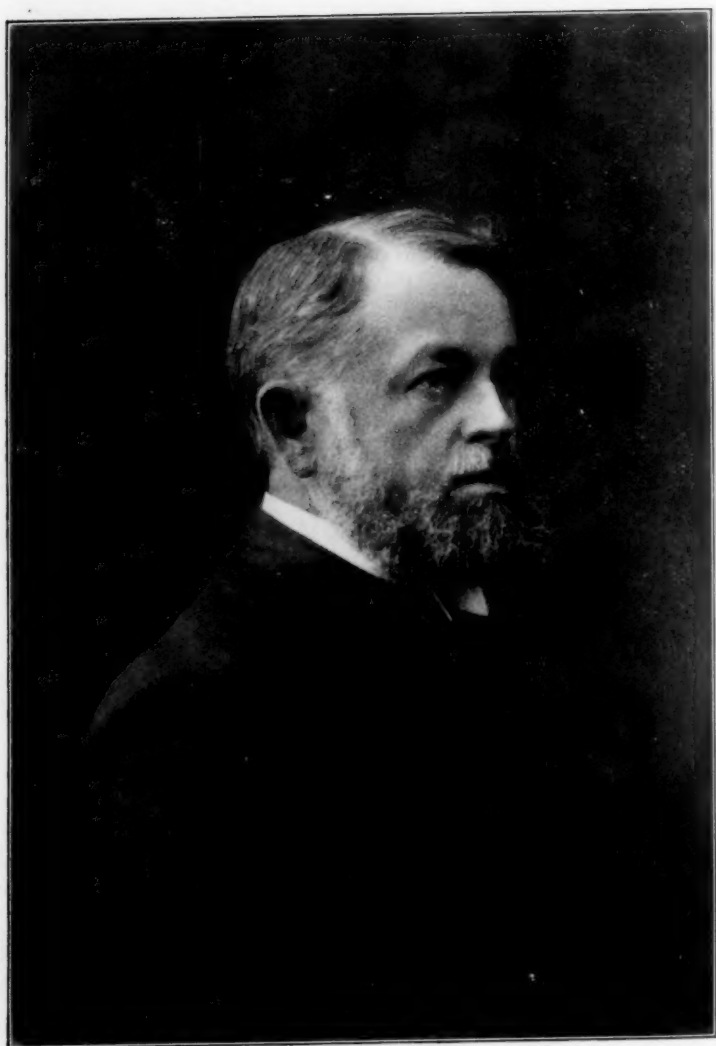
NESTLE, WILHELM. Die Weltanschauung des Aischylos. *Neue Jahrbücher* XIX u. XX (1907), pp. 225-46, 305-33.

The problem of good and evil is the chief interest of Aeschylus' deeply religious spirit. Misfortune does not follow from too great good-fortune, for God does not envy man. It is the evil deed alone that leads to misfortune, and the final cause of evil, as of good, is God himself, who works for the triumph of good, and through suffering leads man to wisdom, and to knowledge of himself and God. Why evil exists is not explained. There is no "development" in Aeschylus' view of life; it is the same in the *Eumenides* as in the *Persians*.

RIDGEWAY, WILLIAM. The True Scene of the Second Act of the Eumenides of Aeschylus. *Classical Review* XXI (1907), pp. 163-68.

Contents that the scene was not the Acropolis, for none of the four courts for trying homicide sat there, but the Palladion where there was a most ancient image of Athena known always by the name Pallas, the name regularly used in the play, while the goddess of the Acropolis was Athena Polias. The court of the Palladion, where cases of involuntary homicide were tried, was established before that of the Delphinion, and at first included also cases of justifiable homicide.





From a photograph by Lwing, Cambridge, Mass.

MINTON WARREN, 1850-1907